

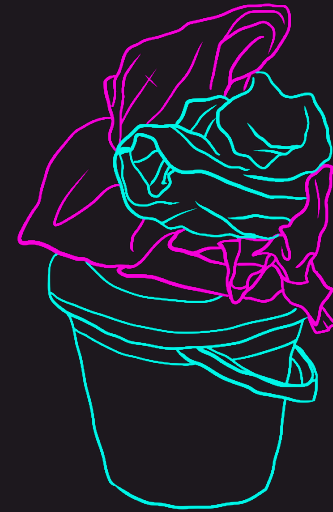


HARI

PARASAR

ANITA
SILVA
WRITER

MOVIE
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HARI PASAR Volume One

The Women Peddler and Market Days in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia

Halo

This zine is a research proposal that I wrote as part of the 2021/2022 BAK Fellowship for Situated Practice. I'm writing this proposal in March 2022 to September 2022, accompanied by field observations throughout eastern Borneo coast, Central Maluku, West Papua, and North Sulawesi in March - June 2022.

I visited Hari Pasar (market days) on rivers, on islands, and on the coast in the Eastern Indonesia Archipelagos. These open-air markets were destroyed due to the climate crisis, lost traders due to inter-religious conflicts, and were alienated from their original environment. While writing this proposal, I am preparing for visits to Hari Pasar in Sabah (Malaysia), the Philippines, and Bali Island in October – November 2022.

This zine is an attempt to archive my feelings about the research questions, also appreciating the reading (books, journals, maps, photo archives) and the support of friends for my search in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia (stretch from Mindanao and Sulu in the north to Bali in the southwest and New Guinea in the southeast). I specially invited Novie Elisa to make illustrations and layout-ing this zine <3

Pasar // Pekan // Tamu // Tabo // Bazaar // Markt // Market

Surabaya, 7 September 2022

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The Women Peddler and the Market

My first intensive encounter with markets and women peddlers was the mapping of 117 self-organised (non-government) markets in Surabaya City, Indonesia in 2020 – 2021. The importance of these independent markets in the daily lives of Surabaya residents attracted me to learn more about market traditions in Indonesia and the world. I began to study the role of women in the market from the book “The Domestication of Desire: Women, Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java”, an ethnographic work of the Laweyan merchant community in Surakarta by Suzanne April Brenner, published in 1998. The book states that Javanese women were active and had an important role in trade long before the era of the Dutch colonial government, but its role was dwarfed or its access closed by exploitative policies and trade monopolies carried out by the Dutch and continued by the Orde Baru—an authoritarian regime. The next important book is *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia* by Barbara Watson Andaya which lays out the history of gender related to women in Southeast Asia that has been neglected in historiography. Barbara described the rapid spread of religion and colonialism weakened the spiritual and intellectual dimensions of women, including in trade.

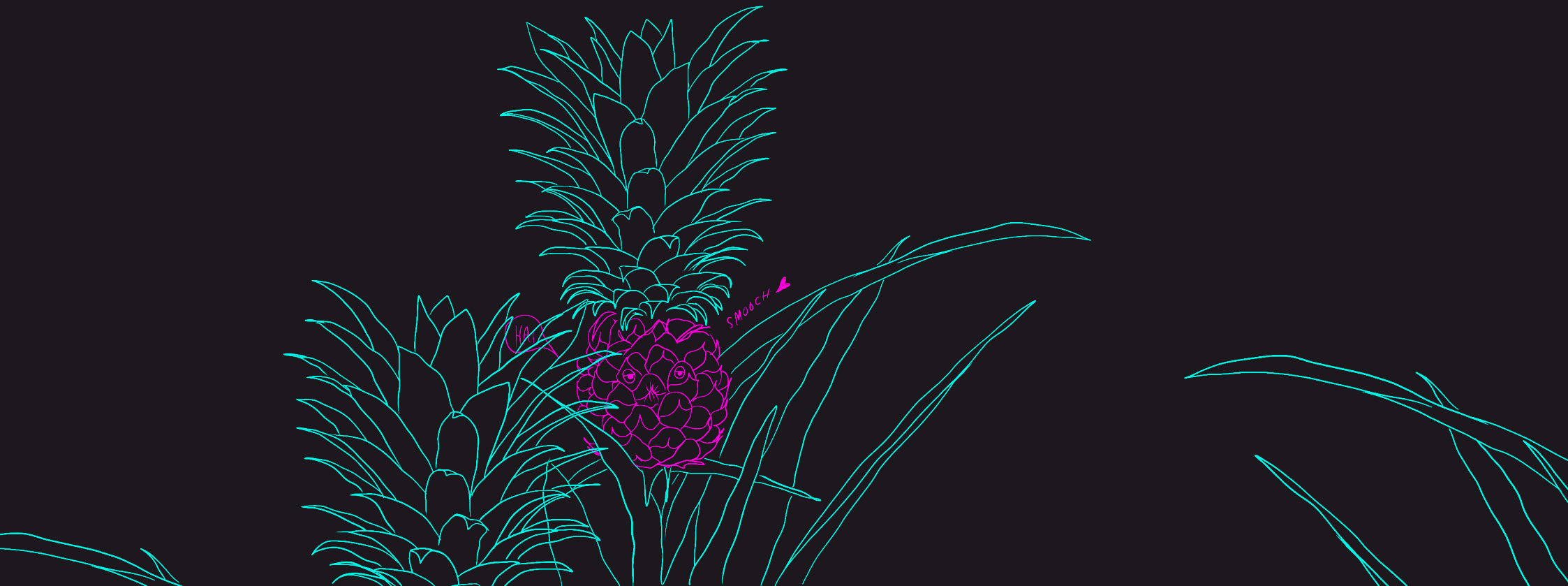
The women peddlers are the main market actors who determine the establishment of Hari Pasar and markets. There are various names and practices of the women peddler, such as papalele, jibu-jibu, tibo. Papalele for the people of Maluku is a local term that has been known to those who seek to peddle the goods by walking around (baronda). There are also peddling goods that are settled in one particular location. This terminology is very strongly inherent in the community which is then understood that those who do this work are people who come from rural areas. In Ambon, people acknowledge two terms for fish peddlers, namely papalele and jibu-jibu. On Morotai Island, North Maluku, fish sellers are called dibo-dibo. In Tomia Island, North Sulawesi, people are also familiar with the term papalele which is intended for fish peddlers as well as the term jibu-jibu. However, the term papalele in everyday life turns out to be aimed at all kinds of fringe sellers, such as: sellers of fruit, fish, vegetables, and others. Unlike jibu-jibu which is only intended specifically for fish peddlers.



During a visit to the market day at the Airmadidi market, North Minahasa, there was the concept of “tibo” as a woman peddler and broker. Luckily, I got a recommendation for a classic book about women and markets in Minahasa published in 1987, “Peasant Pedlars and Professional Traders: Subsistence Trade in Rural Markets of Minahasa, Indonesia” by Helmut Buchholt and Ulrich Mai. The following is the excerpt from the book.

Marketing lake, as opposed to sea, fish is a thoroughly female business. Lake fish traders add considerably to the characteristic picture of the Minahasa market: in the morning they usually arrive in a group at the market place, always occupying the same corner. There they stand closely together or squat over their fish bowls, exchanging market information as well as gossip, and always prepared to assist in any transaction going on. The impression of solidarity and collectivity, existing not only among the traders but also between them and their customers, is further strengthened when the customers, with friends or relatives among the tibo, intermingle with them. Since there are no stalls to function as a barrier, morphologically speaking, the customer cannot be distinguished from the tibo.

I met and talked with two papalele on Ambon Island at their houses and gardens. I just realized that their life choices as traders are economic and ritual choices, just like the work of weavers that are occupied by women in Southeast Asia. Papalele that I met on Ambon Island and Saparua Island had special clothes, a sarong and kebaya, as well as lace straps to tie the sarong around the waist and as a pocket to store wallets and anything that was considered to bring safety and good luck. Papalele trades walking around by holding on top of their heads a kind of blackish-brown basket called ‘atiting’ or ‘dulang’—made of bamboo and wood. The papalele also has a fruit garden whose produce is sold on Hari Pasar.





On Saparua Island, the papalele I met has a palm garden around her house. She makes palm sugar, then sells it at the Pulu market, the biggest market in Saparua. Meanwhile on Ambon Island, the papalele I met owns and manages a pineapple and other fruit garden next to her house, the fruits is sold at the Mardika market, downtown Ambon. Opportunities to growing, searching, and walking among the house-garden-market, provide knowledge to the papalele about their territory. They become familiar with and respect their environment.

The gender specificity of Southeast Asian cloth is of immense significance in assessing community attitudes to women's work. Basic to many local economies, especially in times of food shortages, cloth could be used for all manner of exchanges and in some areas did actually function as a currency. On the island of Buton (near Sulawesi), for instance, small rectangles of rough cloth were woven and sold as a monetary equivalent that circulated in surrounding areas. The centrality of textiles, however, was less a function of their economic role than their place in the ritual life of most Southeast Asian communities. (Barbara Watson Andaya, 2006: 115).

My encounter with markets that take place in river bays, river estuaries, beaches, on islands, and at sacred crossroads are very memorable, met the great knowledge about human relationships with their environment. However, the modernization ideas and practices imposed by the Dutch colonialists since the implementation of the ethical colonial policy (1901-1926) in the Netherlands East Indies have distanced the indigenous people from their traditions and environment, such as the modernization of the market by eradicating market activities on the street and bringing the market from open areas into modern buildings. This modernity initiative was brought by, among others, architects and urban planners in the Netherlands East Indies, such as Thomas Karsten, Wolff Schoemaker, and Maclaine Pont.

While Wolff Schoemaker, Maclaine Pont and Thomas Karsten all held very different views, often bitterly disagreeing with each other about traditional Javanese architecture, all shared a coloniser objective to create a brand new typology for buildings in the Dutch East Indies. Schoemaker was on the side of those who promoted Western rationality over indigenous building practices, while Pont and Karsten shared the belief that reinterpreting these traditions was the fundamental ingredient in developing the New Indies Architecture. Both had attempted to reinvent the knowledge and skills of the Javanese vernacular to establish a new approach (David Hutama Setiadi, 2022:204).



I met Karsten's thoughts while working as a research assistant on urbanism in 2021-2022. I revisited Karsten's works in Semarang: Johar market, Randusari market, and Kampung Mlaten. The market buildings by Karsten is a good architecture, but then I asked, if a market not in a modern building like a market under a banyan tree is also a good market architecture? For Karsten, markets were a key element of traditional activity, remaining crucial to the life of densely populated cities. They had evolved from rural settlements, but, from his perspective, needed to be remodeled to conform to the socio-economic order of the twentieth century Indies city. Traditionally, markets (pasar) were often identified by the day of the week when they were held, or the name of the tree under which locals had formerly set up their stalls. They were focus of communal interaction and often locations where itinerant performers could find an audience. In meeting the concerns and interest of a "progressive" urban council, Karsten was giving expression to his own notions of a properly ordered urban environment, ensuring that appropriate pedagogical and hygiene principles were embedded in the urban built environment (Joost Coté, Hugh O'Neill, Pauline K.M. Roosmalen, and Helen Ibbitson Jessup, 2017:200).



Essential to the design was the need for ease in handling the produce and the incorporation of hygienic conditions compatible with modern standards. As Karsten noted in referring to the creation of space defined by the introduction of his-mushroom-like constructions, while facilitating the provision of 100% roof coverage, nevertheless it also produced a natural division of space which for the Indigenous users, being somewhat fearful of large spaces, can be nothing but agreeable, and is therefore, better for achieving an appropriate pasar atmosphere. Karsten noted that the mushroom-like construction, as well as allowing "the complete absence of dark and hollows spaces, completely flat undersides of roofs and floors, the correspondence between the most economical distance between columns (about 5-7 meters) and the normal passageway in a pasar-aisle with stalls on either side which are also about 5-6 meters. Aesthetically, the series of aligned trunk-like concrete columns suggested the ambiance of a forest glade (Joost Coté, Hugh O'Neill, Pauline K.M. Roosmalen, and Helen Ibbitson Jessup, 2017:208).



The idea of eradicating open-air markets and constructing market buildings to confine traders (so that it is easy for the government to get more profit from market taxes) has been imposed by urban planners and bureaucrats, as noted in the impressions of the Decentralization Congress held by Vereniging Locale Belangen in 1939 in Surabaya:

Pendjoelan di Lapangan Djalan

Kongres. Dalam Decentralisatiekongres jang telah berlaloe di kota Soerabaia diadjoekan soeatoe preadvies tentang pendjoelan di lapangan djalan (straatverkoop), preadvies mana jang dapat banjak perhatian, hoebaja-hoebaja dari fihak bestuur locale ressort.

Preadviseur Mr. Soenario berpendapatan bahwa pendjoelan di lapangan djalan itoe soeatoe kepentingan jang mengenal ekonomi-nja berbagai-bagai rakjat ketjil.



Mr. Boissevain mengadjoekan soeatoe pembantahan bahwa kepentingan ekonomi itoe tak seberapa, karena pendjoelan di djalan boeat si pembeli lebih mahal harganja djika dibanding dengan harga pasar. Maka bilau berpendapatan bahwa djika diadakannja banjak pasar di masing2 poesat (buurtpasar) nistjaja nantinja ke-boetoehan dari rakjat ketjil itoe tersampai djoega. Oleh Mr. Boissevain dan oleh Ir. Karsten diterangkan poela bahwa dengan sesoenggoehnja pendjoelan didjalan itoe mengroesak keadaan ekonomi jang ditemoe di pasar. Pasar atoe jalah kepentingan jang termoecka sendiri.

Maka kedoea debaters terseboet berpendapatan bahwa pendjoelan di djalan lebih oetama dikoerangi, bahkan seberapa boleh dibrantas. Pembantah toean Daniels menerangkan poela betapa tidak sehatnja pendjoelan di djalan itoe.

Tentoonstelling. Dalam kongres terseboet diadakan djoega soeatoe tentoonstelling dari poto-poto dan kaart-kaart jang mengenal keadaan pendjoelan didjalan itoe. Oleh Ir. Thijssse diterangkan masing2 gambar itoe dengan menoendjoekan poela beda-bedanja keadaan pendjoelan di masing2 kota.

Argument / Hope

Open-air markets are the past, the present, and the future in Southeast Asia.

The Questions

1. How does the existence of Hari Pasar in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia?
2. How the women peddler in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia produce knowledge about geographical, agriculture, foodways, and trade?

Research Area

The Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia extends from the southern Philippines to the east Java Sea, and from the eastern Borneo coast to the far shores of west New Guinea. The Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia is a complex region, prone to conflict, experiencing conflict, have post-conflict traumas. They are a minority, under-appreciated, not trusted by their own governments. Many of their inhabitants are regarded as “people without history”, while colonial borders cut across shared underlying patterns. Yet many of these societies were linked to trans-oceanic trading systems for millennia.

The Length of the Project

Ten years (2022 – 2032).



The Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia



All my life I lived on Java Island. The Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia region is unknown to me. It was only in 2017 I visited North Maluku to Southeast Maluku, visited my ancestor's land, I am descended from Southeast Maluku people, Kei Kecil Island. In the following years I began to look for current issues and the history of the Eastern Indonesian Archipelagos which was not popular in my everyday life in Java.

Reading the work of Anna Tsing, Tania Murray Li, Hatib Abdul Kadir, Nono Sumampouw, Patricia Spyer, and Heather Sutherland which their works within the scope of The Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia, gave me the confidence to study the region and seek collaborators.

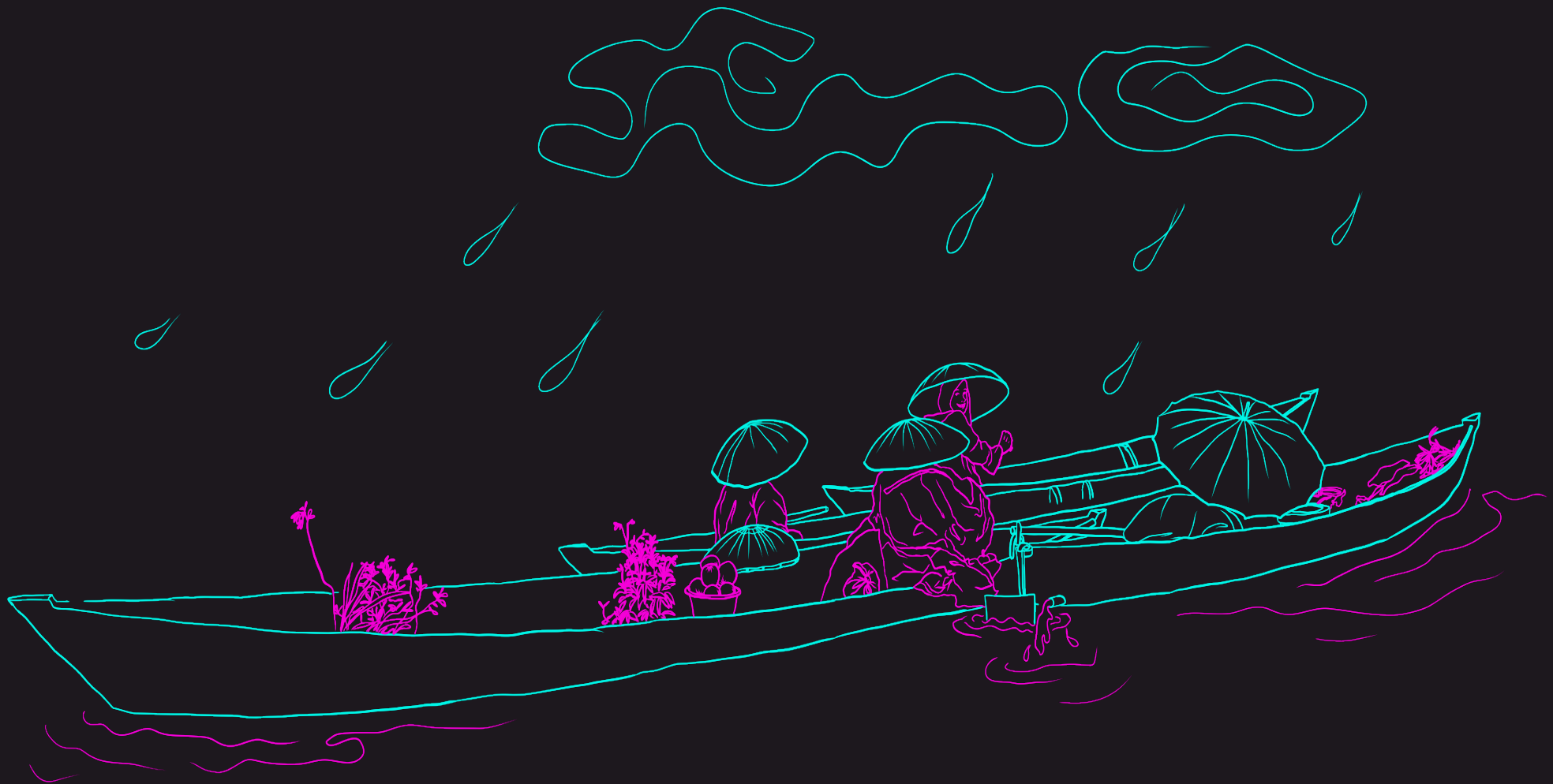
Center for Culture and Frontier Studies (CCFS) Universitas Brawijaya specifically asked for an interview with Anna Tsing related to her work in the study of Indonesia. Her interview which is presented in the following dialogue was translated into Indonesian by Hatib Abdul Kadir:

CCFS: Sepertinya selama beberapa tahun terakhir, Anda tertarik untuk belajar di Indonesia bagian timur. Baik dalam hal literatur dan melakukan studi lapangan. Bisakah Anda ceritakan sedikit apa yang membuat Anda tertarik untuk mempelajari Indonesia timur dan kepulauannya, hutan dan pesisir lautnya?

Anna Tsing: Salah satu aspeknya adalah bagian timur Indonesia ini memiliki sejarah yang begitu kaya, tetapi jarang diakui sebagai hal yang penting sehingga jika Anda bahkan membaca sejarah Indonesia, biasanya mungkin akan dimulai dan memiliki sedikit bab tentang Portugis atau Spanyol dan Belanda bagian periode awal, tetapi kemudian Anda langsung masuk ke pemerintahan kolonial, dan era kemerdekaan. Dan untuk menyadari bahwa ada 500 tahun catatan tentang interaksi antara orang Eropa dan kesultanan di daerah Indonesia Timur, yaitu sejarah perdagangan di seluruh dunia, tidak hanya di Indonesia, benar-benar bergantung pada hal-hal yang terjadi di Maluku. Dan itu tampaknya sangat menarik untuk dipelajari dan untuk memikirkan tentang, benang merah hubungan antara sejarah di Indonesia Timur dan masa kini. Dan, alasan kedua, Maluku, Papua Barat adalah daerah yang kaya akan sumber daya pesisir, terutama karena terumbu karang, hutan bakau, seluruh wilayah pesisir yang kaya, dengan sejarah panjang manusia, berinteraksi dengan spesies yang berbeda. Dan ketiga, ini adalah area yang dinamis dan berubah di mana begitu banyak perubahan terjadi sepanjang waktu sehingga Anda tidak bisa seorang diri untuk mencoba dan mengikuti perubahan yang begitu cepat yang sedang terjadi. Anda perlu kerjasama kolaborasi untuk menangkap hal tersebut.

The Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia extends beyond the state borders of Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Timor Leste. The Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia's narratives are inequality, violence, displacement, loss, poverty, climate crises, whose land has been alienated in the wake of colonialism, modernity and development, and whose traditional insights into human beings' relationship with their physical environment have rarely received the serious consideration they indisputably deserve.

Writing this proposal and choosing to study the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia is like receiving an invitation to sail from one island to another, walking in the mountains, paddling along unfamiliar riverine, learning to a sea-oriented society and mobile conditions where people move quickly among islands.



The discursive production of geographical knowledge (island, river, overland trails)

“Sutherland berpendapat bahwa perdagangan di Indonesia timur mungkin karena dukungan dua landasan utama. Pertama, geografi. Angin monsun timur dan barat didukung oleh jalur sungai yang menjadi penghubung antara pedalaman dan pesisir di Sulawesi, Kalimantan, dan Maluku. Orang-orang dari pedalaman menciptakan jalan setapak dalam kelompok-kelompok kecil, datang dan pergi melakukan transaksi jual beli.”

The excerpt above from of a book review by Hatib Abdul Kadir. I have faced many difficulties while reading books in English, including this book, “Seaways and Gatekeepers: Trade and State in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia, c. 1600–c. 1906”. This review in Indonesian helped my orientation and understanding of the region.

The following are snippets of geographical knowledge that need to be considered for studying Hari Pasar based on the book written by Heather Sutherland, “Seaways and Gatekeepers: Trade and State in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia, c. 1600–c. 1906”, from Wikipedia, and other references:

1. Islands

For seafarers, islands favoured by winds and sea currents were natural stopovers, as long as they could provide fresh water and provisions, and ideally the materials required for ship maintenance as well. Some islands and harbours located along popular sailing routes became established ports-of-call where ongoing relationships overcame distrust. Examples are the Sarangani, Sangihe and Talaud archipelagos in the Sulawesi Sea, Gebe between central Halmahera’s Patani and the Raja Ampat of west new Guinea. The Southwestern and Southeastern Islands chains, defined by their location vis-à-vis Banda, curved southwest through the Banda Sea, from New Guinea to Timor. Similar advantages were offered by river islands, such as Tatas, formed by the junction of the Barito, Martapura and a lesser stream, and the archipelagos of Sulawesi, along the island chains stretching from Seram Laut to Flores and in the island groups of the Papua (West New Guinea) coast.

One of the best-known accounts of any eastern archipelago trading settlement is Alfred Wallace’s 1857 description of Dobo, the main trading centre of one of the Aru islands, of the west coast of Papua:

“I dare say there are now near five hundred people in Dobbo of various races, all met in this remote corner of the East, as they express it, “to look for their fortune”, to get money any way they can. They are most of them people who have the very worst reputation for honesty, as well as every other form of morality—Chinese, Bugis, Ceramese, and half-caste Javanese, with a sprinkling of half-wild Papuans from Timor, Babber, and other islands—yet all goes on as yet very quietly. ... Here we may behold in its simplest form the genius of Commerce at the work of Civilization. Trade is the magic that keeps all at peace, and unites these discordant elements into a well-behaved community. All are traders, and all know that peace and order are essential to successful trade, and thus a public opinion is created which puts down all lawlessness.”



Apart from the Aru Archipelago, the islands that are also worth studying and visiting are the Gorom Archipelago in Southeast Maluku. Interesting monograph I read, "On the Edge of the Banda Zone: Past and Present in the Social Organization of a Moluccan Trading Network". In this monograph, Roy Ellen seek to show how exchange in a small archipelago in eastern Indonesia must be understood against the backdrop of regional trade and participation in a global system of commerce that goes back more than two thousand years.

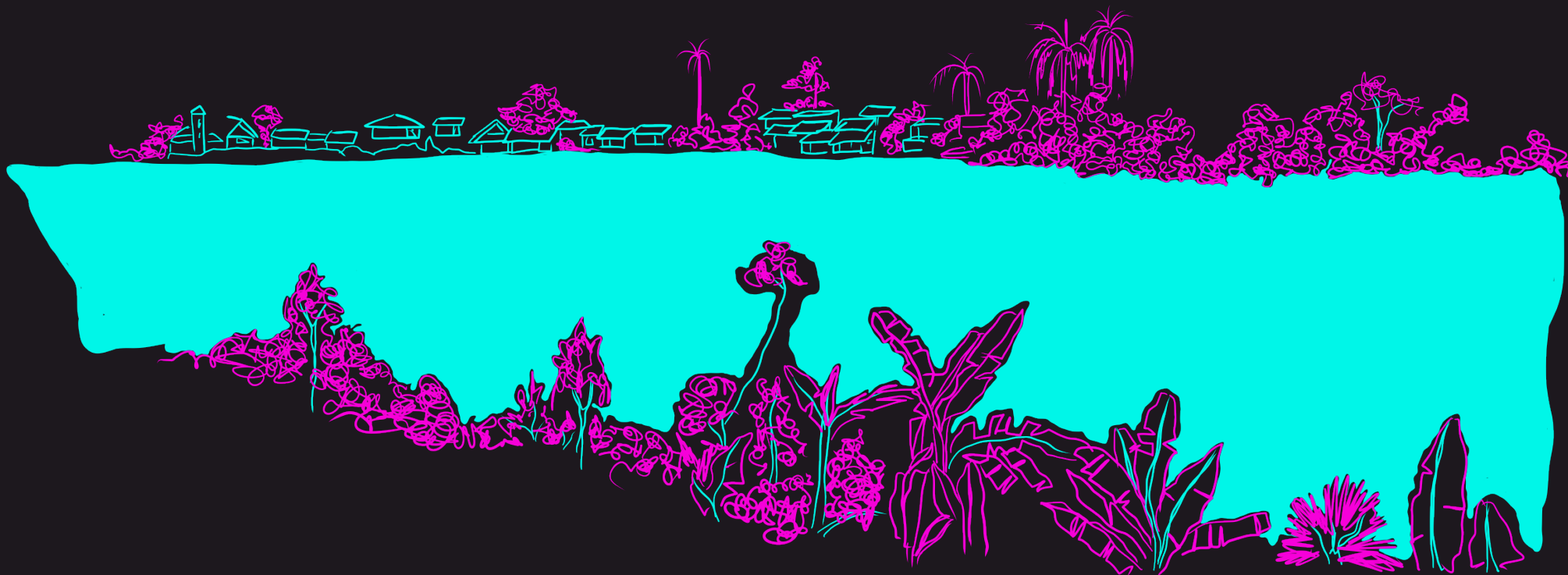
In exchange for all this the island settlements can offer two commodities to the periphery: one is fish, which it has in abundance in the shallow reefs; and the other is a market for agricultural products, which are then sold to larger markets outside the area. The East and Southeast Seram littorals, together with the Gorom Archipelago, represent the periphery of the area, are the least integrated economically with other parts of the system, and are less dependent on imports for basic subsistence. Involvement in this commodity trade has not only subsidized an ecologically and economically deprived area, but turned a marginal area into a historically crucial one in terms of global economic systems. (Roy Ellen, 2003: 53)

Traders in archipelagic Southeast Seram not only occupy a marginal and ambiguous social position and moral universe but are also less likely to inhabit a social space that has clear local physical correlates than almost any other group. Theirs is a social world that is essentially regional or at least supralocal, in which the intimacies of kinship compress the extricacies of spatial distance. Moreover, there is a widespread tendency in the Moluccas to manage a discourse of unbounded spaces in terms of specific central places. In the model of the world of those living in particular places the periphery is divided into dominant secondary centers. Thus, traders in Ambon or Banda usually speak of Tual, Geser, Dobo when referring not to particular places but to entire zones on a periphery, because such places are the main channels through which all commodities and information are channeled. (Roy Ellen, 2003: 261)

2. Rivers

Borneo's rivers have been channelling commodity flows between the coast and interior for many hundreds of years. Southeast Borneo's three main rivers debouche into the Java Sea: they are the Kahayan, the Kapuas (the downstream section of which is the Kapuas Murung) and the Barito. The most complex system was that of Banjarmasin's Barito, which included the Negara and its tributaries. The webs of waterways were so long and so ramified that it is not easy to distinguish trunk rivers and tributaries; stretches of both commonly bore different names. Moreover, they were linked by cross-streams. In places old sections of riverbed, antasan or terusan, were used as short-cuts between meanders, or to link different rivers. Sometimes shallow waterways were excavated to create canals and obtain earth to build up marshy areas. Travel up the Barito to the royal seat of Martapura was made easier by a system dug on royal orders in the 1780s. These interventions, and the wandering of natural streams, created extensive areas of land surrounded by water, so inland settlements often bore names including such terms as pulau (island) or kuala or muara; these last two terms both mean river mouth, where one either joins another stream or enters the sea.

The greatest river systems of East Kalimantan, those of the Barito and the Mahakam, sustained the sultanates of Banjarmasin and Kutai. Forest commodities, gold and diamonds travelled downstream to coastal settlements where they were exchanged for salt and other imports. These rivers were characterised by webs of tributaries, while tidal downstream waters flowed through complex estuaries.



The three most important rivers north of Cape Mangkalihah were the Sesayap, the Bulungan and the Berau. The Sesayap was the main connection between the coast and the interior, entering the Celebes Sea well north of Tarakan. Atypically, there was no sandbank before the Sesayap's mouth, so ships could enter straight from the sea. A handful of coastal, predominantly Bugis, polities nestled by the broad estuaries of lesser rivers which decided their names, incomes and influence.

Lake Tondano, at the centre of the Minahasa plateau, was connected to the northern sea by the eponymous river. The low-lying hinterland of the southwestern port of Amurang was drained by the Ranojapo River, but this was exceptional; most other harbours—Manado, Likupang and Kema—lay at the mouths of minor streams.

I feel unpleasant about the displaced Maranaos in Mindanao Island. Maranao means "People of the Lake," after their traditional territory in the area surrounding Lake Lanao in the Bukidnon-Lanao Plateau, which is some 2,200 feet above sea level. They are one of the largest Islamic groups in the Philippines. Core areas as Marawi City, Lumba-a-bayabao, and Bayang. I watched a video talks about the displacement of Maranao people because of the war in Marawi City—the predominantly Muslim city--in 2017 and it remind me the similar event happened in Maluku and Papua.

Eastern Archipelago



3. Overland Trails

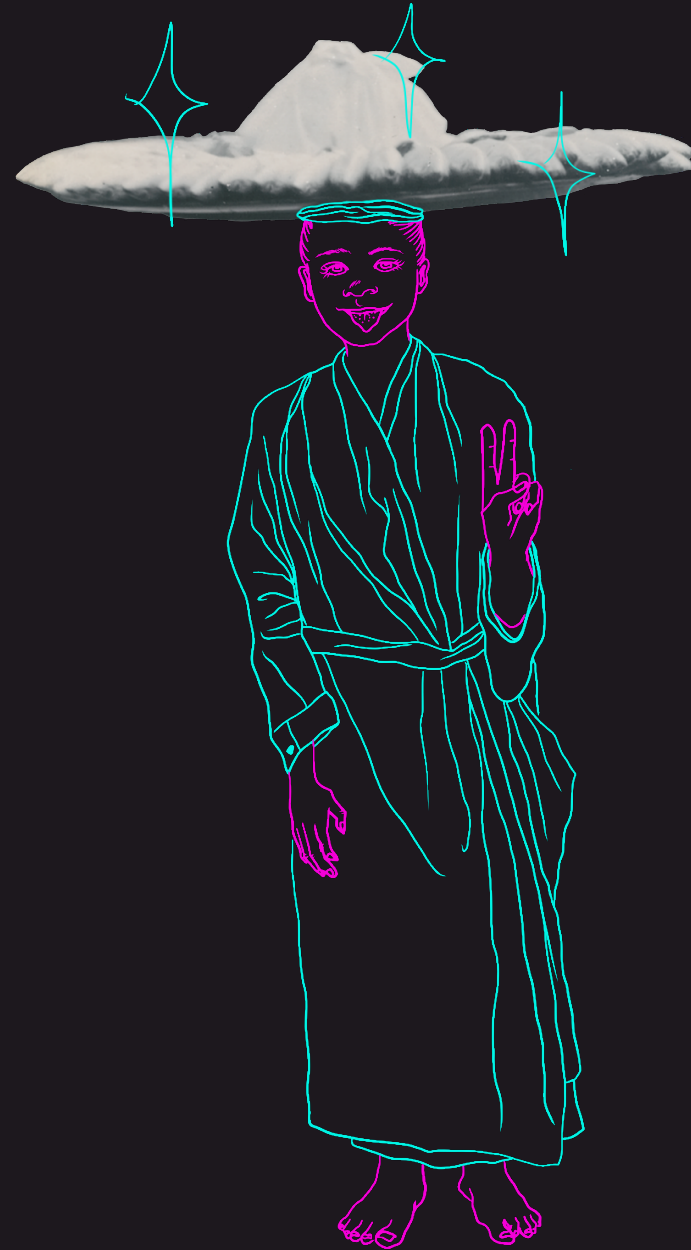
Over much of Papua the heterogeneous peoples of the interior were connected by inland trails, along which goods such as shells, stone tools, and imports were carried. According to the Australian Tim Flannery, who travelled there in 1990, “one of the world’s great foot-only trade routes” ran along the mountains:

“is magnificent pathway which traverses East-West along Irian Jaya’s [Papua’s] mountain spine is an ancient trade route. In parts it is so well constructed that it resembles an Inca road, and would certainly be capable of admitting a small vehicle. In others, however, it dwindles to a muddy track which descends steep declivities, or else a line of slippery logs leading through a morass. Produce, such as the plumes of birds of paradise, had probably travelled along it for millennia on its journey to places as far as Sri Lanka and China.”

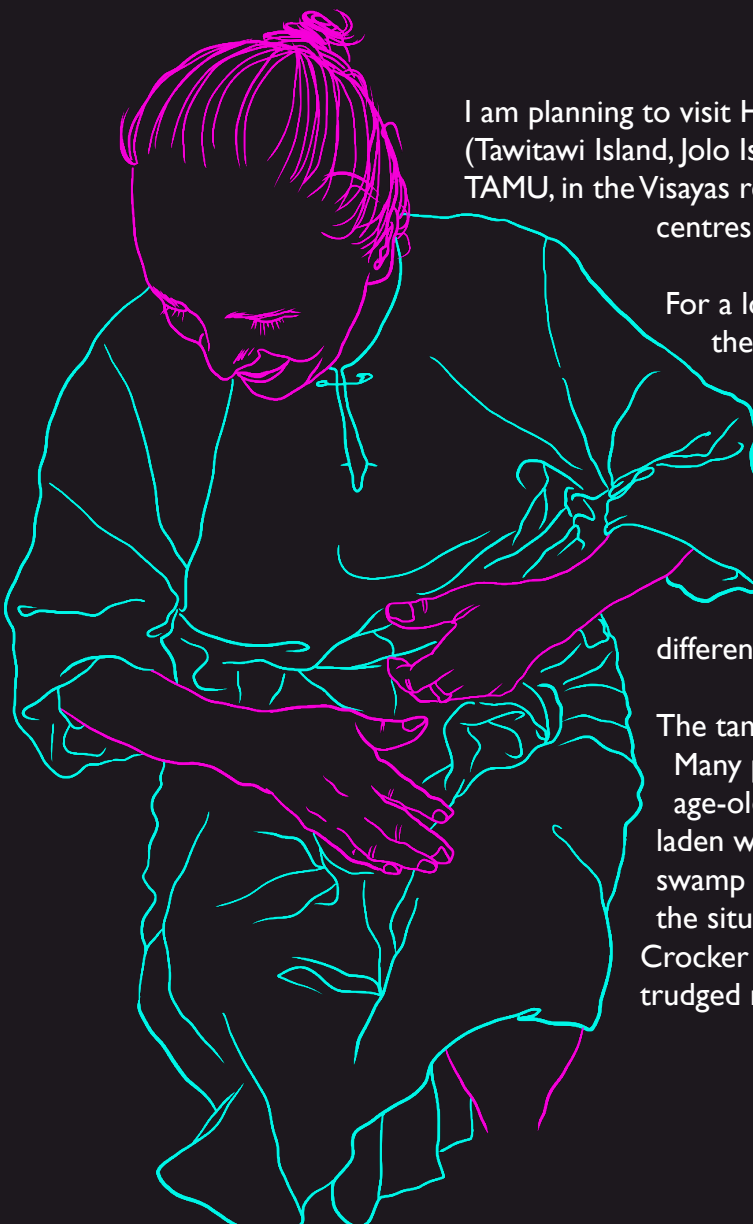
In many parts of Borneo trails connected river systems. Rugged tracks crossed mountain ridges to connect river valleys, and to allow passage to settlements further inland. Trails took advantage of “a river, a valley, or a saddle between high peaks ... the paths follow a major river or trail along parts of its course, only to leave this and follow a smaller tributary downstream; at times the trails stretch across vast, forested territories to reach the headwaters of a river & owing in the following direction”.

An important Central Sulawesi path enabled travellers to go from Poso Bay on the Tomini Gulf’s southern shore up the eponymous river to inland Lake Poso, passing through forest for five hours before reaching inhabited land; from the lake they could go over the pass to the valley of the Kalaena river and then south to the Gulf of Bone.

I need to find a chance to experience these overland trails in Papua and Central Sulawesi for my next field trip.



Next Field Trips: Sabah, Visayas, Mindanao, Sulu Archipelago, and Bali



I am planning to visit Hari Pasar in Sabah (West Malaysia), Visayas (Negros Island, Panay Island, Cebu Island), Sulu Archipelago (Tawitawi Island, Jolo Island), and Tabanan Regency on Bali Island at the end of October 2022. Hari Pasar in Sabah are called TAMU, in the Visayas region they are called TABO. Most Hari Pasar are primarily rural, and many of the larger ones are bulking centres for local produce moving toward urban centres.

For a long time, women have found certain virgin places offering better prospects for markets, either due to the number of people in the place, e.g. trading centres, or the number commuting through that centre. They start gathering in that place at selected moments of the day.

The tamu is a traditional institution going back countless generations. Tamu were set up on open land between areas occupied by different ethnic or dialectal groups, and were places for barter trade. Often marked by an oath stone that had been erected in a peace-making ceremony and dedicated in sacrificial blood, tamu land was neutral ground governed by the behavioural prescriptions of adat—no weapons, fighting or arguments were permitted, and feuding groups had to set aside their differences while on that land.

The tamu or market (from the Malay temu = “meet”) gets going early on a Wednesday morning. Many people come from afar on a Tuesday afternoon and settle in somewhere for the night. It has been an age-old custom for people from the hills to bring down their tobacco and their rotan (rattan) and to return laden with salt fish such as only the coastal peoples can produce. Another coastal product is the bark of a swamp tree, which is used in the brewing of coconut toddy (bahar). This exchange is the basic reason for the situation of this tamu ground at a site where the Tuaran river debouches from the last wrinkles of the Crocker Range to wind through the coastal plain and thence reach the sea. In earlier times hill people had trudged many miles with back-packing baskets (wakid) to reach the tamu (Tina Rimmer, 1999:1).

I received “The Tamparuli Tamu” (thank you Zikri Rahman for this book) by Tina Rimmer after a visit to the Mambunibuni barter market, Kokas District, Fakfak Regency, West Papua. The illustrations and the text from “The Tamparuli Tamu” perfectly describe the atmosphere of the Mambunibuni market. Mountain people bring tobacco, coastal people bring long dry leaves (like kawung, leaves commonly used in Java to wrap dry tobacco) as tobacco wrappers. I was also taught by a market’s regular visitor how to wrap and then enjoy these collaboration coastal-mountain cigarettes throughout market day. This Mambunibuni market is probably the only barter market still held in Indonesia, it is a beautiful gathering.

The following is an excerpt from an article about the Mambunibuni market written by Rahmi Djafar:

Baltasar Hegemur adalah Kepala Pasar Mambunibuni, yang dipercaya sebagai komando dimulainya proses barter.

“Hur wa regni biwo in opeh rangge dewedop opeh rajeh? (mereka sudah turun dari gunung dan dari pantai, sudah turun semuanya belum?),” kata Baltasar.

Jika warga pasar menyebutkan sudah siap, maka sang kepala pasar akan menyebutkan rajeh yang berarti mulai. Maka terjadilah proses barter.

I’m still making a list of market day/taboo in the Visayas region, Mindanao Island, and the Sulu Archipelago. It’s not easy to find taboo information, I hope I have the luck to meet taboo.

Taboo is an old Visayan word for “meet”. Tabooan is the place where the taboo is held. It could be by the sea or by the river; or where rivers, roads or people meet. It has become the name for the traditional market event where and when farmers, fishermen, potters, mat weavers, tinsmiths, lamp makers, merchants, vendors and buyers meet to exchange goods – to barter as in ancient times and to buy or sell as in modern time.



Indigenous people di Visayas region, Ati, has tradition to seek opportunities and transfer from one place to another through the process of “molangyaw” and “paningpalad”. They have a list of all the fiestas and tabo (market day) in all cities and towns of Cebu. Based on the event dates, a group of Ati numbering from 4 to 6 related individuals mostly women would undertake a trade expedition (molangyaw) to visit these places for a few days. With a bag each of medicinal products, they would go to the fiesta or tabo a day or two before the actual event bringing only enough money for their food and transportation for the first location. Their target is to sell as much as they can so that they can move on to another location. They use the sale from the previous location to finance their trip to the next location.

For Sabah, I added Kinabatangan on my list beside the Tamparuli Tamu. The following are excerpts from the book “The Sulu Zone 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State” regarding Kinabatangan and its relationship with the eastern Borneo coast. In March 2022 I traveled the eastern Borneo coast, from Banjarmasin to Malinau, passing through Pasir, Balikpapan, Samarinda, Bulungan, and Tarakan Island. The trip helped me to imagine the trade network from Sabah to Banjarmasin.

Sabahan was situated well up a small but navigable river in Darvel Bay, on the southern periphery of Sulu’s sphere of influence”. It owed its existence to the inland riverine network which linked the mercantile activity of the Bugis in Southeast Borneo to hinterland communities in the north as far as the Kinabatangan. The small but powerful market town of Kinabatangan, which was a rendezvous for such traders, linked Sandakan Bay to a vast hinterland that was divided among various Ida’an tribes as far as the headwaters of the river. Kinabatangan River is the largest and longest river in Sabah. The Kinabatangan area is dominated by natives known as Orang Sungai (River people). The majority of the Sungai people are Muslim, and they live in scattered settlements along the Kinabatangan River. The Sungai people have always lived along the Kinabatangan River to barter (a traditional exchange) forest products with traders who sail on this river. The Sungai people engage in subsistence farming, fishing, seasonal fruit harvest, collection, and the sale of forest harvest. (Warren, 1981:83)

Hari Pasar in Bali are equally difficult to find information on. At least I get knowledge about where the market is always at the sacred intersection/crossroads, Catus Patha. I took the snippet below from the article, Cultural Value Transformation in Traditional Market Spatial Planning in City of Denpasar, Gianyar and Klungkung – Bali, Indonesia:

The trading activity called the market or old market in Bali, especially according to the story of the elders, takes place and takes place under the banyan tree, which is protected from the heat of the sun. Traditional markets in Bali are built on traditional village spatial arrangements arranged based on the spatial layout concept of Hindu. In that conception space is regarded as a macro cosmos which is the embodiment of the micro cosmos. The structure has the same parts: head, body and legs. They also have the same purity values as: holy for head, middle for body, and profane for the feet. At the traditional village level, the concept is transformed in the traditional Balinese village spatial structure. Traditional markets as part of the village, occupying parts of the body with the value of middle. Along with the palace, community building (bale banjar), and the square, the market forms the grand square of the village.

In the era of the kingdom, the market is an element of the city that has an important role for the survival of the community. This is reflected in the concept of spatial royal city that is Catus Patha (Main Cross Section) pattern. Catus Patha is not just an intersection that has a sacred value but is associated also with its status as the capital of the kingdom. In its position as the center of the kingdom of this main cross section, it consists of four elements, namely (1) the palace as the kingdom as well as the center of government, (2) the market as the center of economy, (3) the public square or open space used as a recreational park, and (4) Wantilan (community building) as a cultural center.

I'm following Heather Sutherland's suggestions written in her book "Seaways and Gatekeepers: Trade and State in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia, c.1600–c.1906":

"We will be drawn to the challenging study of this complex region, only then will we be able to write the narratives which do justice to the eastern archipelagos and their peoples."



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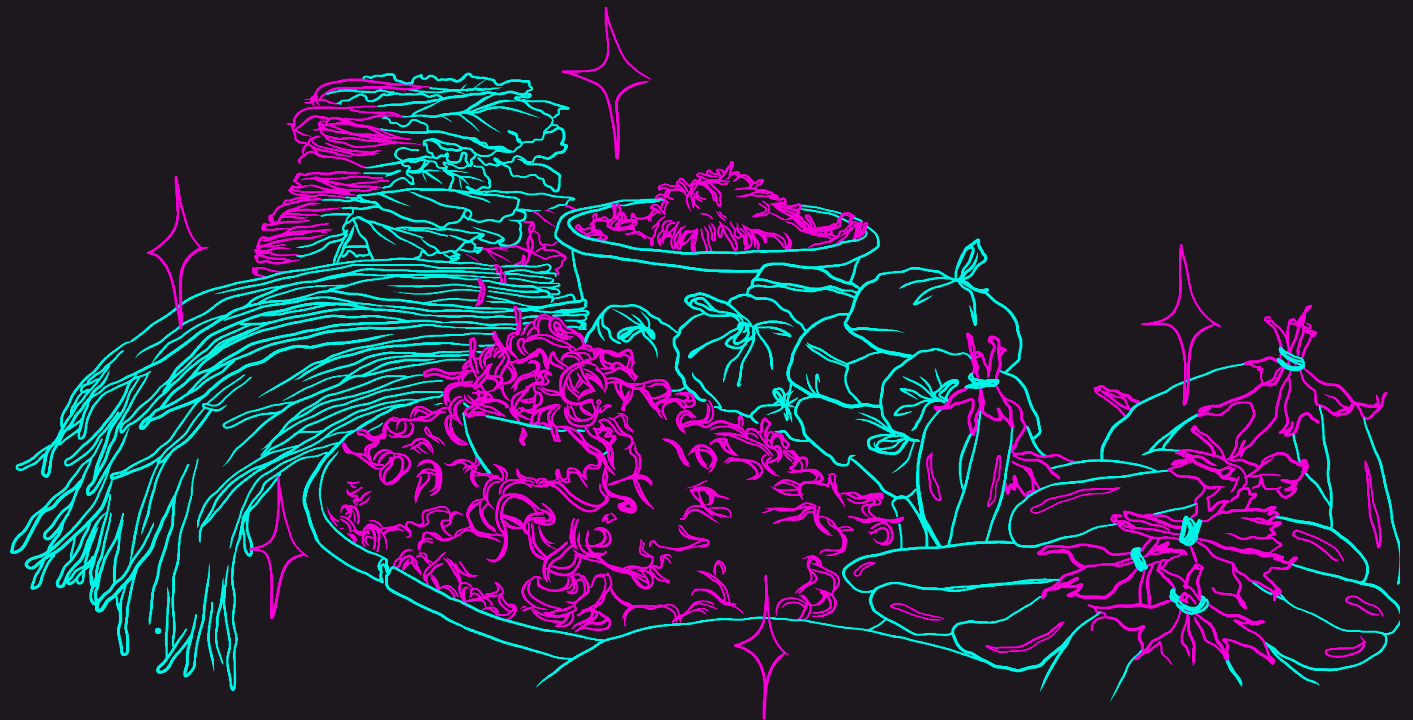
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Notes from Jia

I like your writing, it is very inviting, intriguing, you successfully keep reader curious what's next.

If it's a very 'rigid' rp, actually it may need to talk more to the existing theories and concepts. If that's not the purpose, then this note-style is very cool. What will be it used?

You already have many important and interesting observations, like the different name for calling women peddlers, open / indoor market, geographic location of market, if u want to edit it, I suggest you give more details and stories from your pre-field trip.

The questions of exchange, market, gift have remained classical and relevant in anthropology till today. u already found a lot of exciting literature. And one argument is to see how exchange system reflected social units /social structure, another argument is to look at even seemingly very remote market, they already deeply embedded in the global capitalism. I mention this becos the research area you are going are frontiers or margins of global capitalism, what do they sell? How did they start to sell different things? maybe this is also a path you can go deep. Another question from me will be, why you need to study such vast area? What is the common thing in women peddler there? And what brought them together?

2022